3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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The Dance must have helped appreciably to enhance the status of the elderly participants, a little old to take active part in the actual hunting and game-food providing, and to have given them a feeling of still being economically useful members of the tribe. The same *mutatis mutandis* would be true of the old women in connection with their own Dance.

After the more or less secret rites inside the lodge of the Dance were over, the dancers ran a race. After the close of the dance, the camp moved.

The elderly men who as chief vowers or associates had gone once through the Dance had reached the end of the ritual trail and became members of the unorganized "retired old men," of equal rank in this respect with their ceremonial grandfathers. After the dance the grandfathers could not control their grandsons, as grandfathers could after other Dances. After going through this Dance, the dancer though entering in a sense the "inactive" ranks could still be called on to function as a ceremonial grandfather. He moreover was allowed very considerable freedom and latitude previously denied him. With his Punishers' Dance grandfather he contracted a relationship somewhat similar to the enemy-friend one. In general, while of course he was given no leave to commit grave crimes, he was allowed much freedom in talking or acting vulgarly or obscenely in public and in the presence of consanguineal or actual relatives toward whom respect and avoidance observances had been strictly required of him prior to his graduation into the class of "retired old men."[88]

He could, for instance, talk pretty freely with his own brother-in-law who was also a "retired old man" about matters concerning elimination and reproduction, and could indulge in a large degree of vulgarity and obscenity before a group which included even his own mother-in-law, and no one had the right to criticize him for this or protest against his behavior.

If, for example, he took off his breechcloth in the presence of a group that included such relatives, someone might say to him: "That's going too far." But the old man might answer: "I have sat on the sage brush. I have the right to do this."

[88] Cf. Flannery, 1953, p. 196.

4: Flannery & Cooper E-5 (1939-1945) 1946
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two enemy friends to strip the loser bare of everything he owned, down to his very lodge, was, like a wheel game of the same order of magnitude, a crowning event in Gros Ventre gambling, one arousing most intense popular interest. One of our informants was, in view of this fact, of the opinion that gambling among the Gros Ventre may have been first invented by enemy friends. 572 525

The keepers of the two most sacred pipes, the Flat Pipe and the Feathered Pipe, were not allowed to gamble with any one, nor were their wives, nor (probably: our chief informant was not sure) ex-keepers. Rare exceptions may have occurred in practice. Should an enemy friend of a keeper taunt him into betting and should the challenger lose, he would lose not only his wager but also in a sense his life. For his life would in consequence be shortened, unless the keeper took pity on him and through submitting him to the appropriate ritual procedure averted the penalty. It was believed too that the keeper could not lose if, against the rules, he really did gamble. Gamblers, at least notorious ones, were not selected as pipe keepers. 792 525

Keepers and their wives were subject to a great many other restrictions. They had to maintain a high degree of dignity, to practise many kinds of abstention and "asceticism," and to be benefactors to and intercessors for all the people. It seems probably that the taboo on their gambling was related to one or more of these aspects of the keepership. [784]

Ritual "grandfathers" among the Gros Ventre were of two kinds. A retiring sacred-pipe keeper became automatically "grandfather" to the incoming keeper and instructed him in the ritual, prerogatives and duties of the keepership; a candidate for a sacred lodge chose an older man who had been through the rite as a ritual "grandfather" who would instruct him in the ceremonies and observances of the lodge in question. A person would never gamble against his ritual grandfather. The relationship established between grandfather and grandchild in both cases was predominantly a respectful and sacred one. Against his ritual grandfather a man would not even play in the modern non-gambling 4-button hand game. [524]

The foregoing rather intricate "bettor-wager" gambling pattern appears to be the result of the orderly interplay of five chief determinants or conditioning factors. 525 571

The most important and most basic determinant was that of in-group altruism, cohesion, and loyalty, decreasing in intensity from closer and smaller circle to more distant and larger circle, from biological family, to kinship group, to band, to lodge and society, to tribe as such, to more or less friendly alien tribe, and stopping short of hostile alien tribe. In general, the less intense the

4: Flannery & Cooper E-5 (1939-1945) 1946
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525 we-group altruism, cohesion, and loyalty, the more gambling and the greater the
571 stakes and vice versa.

Two less important, secondary determinants were the rules of avoidance and respect on the one hand and those of familiarity and license on the other. In general, the greater the degree of avoidance and respect demanded between two persons or classes, the less gambling and the smaller the stakes; the greater the degree of familiarity and license permitted, the more gambling and the bigger the stakes.

A fourth determinant was the element of the sacred (and/or ascetic) associated with certain offices and with the persons occupying them, an element which barred gambling by and/or against these persons, namely, pipe keepers and ritual grandfathers.

A fifth determinant was obviously in operation, although the field evidence therefor is not abundant. We got no record, however, of Gros Ventre gambling with their ancient, hereditary and bitter enemies, the Sioux. Gambling, even to
[648] strip opponents completely, presupposes a minimum of friendliness between the players, or at least the absence of deadly and unqualified hostility.

If we diagram along a horizontal belt the full range of human relationships from unqualified friendliness and altruism on the extreme left through the various gradations to unqualified hostility and malevolence on the extreme right, Gros Ventre gambling may be represented on this belt as absent from the extreme left end, gradually increasing in frequency and in size of stakes as we pass along the central section toward the right, and then suddenly dropping and completely disappearing near the extreme right end.

Besides these five determinants or conditioning factors in Gros Ventre gambling, there were perhaps others, but this is as far as our evidence and our analysis thereof have gone. Of course, one cannot have gambling without some kind of close-range or long-range contact between the gamblers, without some kind of property or other valued thing to wager, and so forth, but working out a list of such requisites would be labor lost.

Before leaving this subject, we should emphasize that, while the preceding pages have referred particularly to the bettor-wager pattern as holding for the hand game, the same pattern held as well for all other Gros Ventre gambling games and contests.[7]

[171 525] 7 In our world sources on gambling we have noted only two explicit references, and these extremely brief, to the bettor-wager pattern: G. Goodwin, *The Social Organization of the Western Apache* (Chicago, 1942), p. 375, "certain types of gambling" are prevented "between members of the same clan," for it would be "like winning it [property] from yourself"; R.